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soirées with Dryads and Hamadryads. As he is a perfect stranger at Washington (so my daughter tells me) he wants some kind of introduction that will give him the liberty of making inquiries for information. Do you know D^r Jones of the Franklin Journal [at] Washington? Pray introduce D^r Manners to him and to Warren D[avis]. I suspect Manners will call on you. Adieu my good friend,

My little Daughter just 12 plays Nina delightfully.

Adieu my good friend.

Yours truly

THOMAS COOPER.

2. *Letters on the Nullification Movement in South Carolina, 1830-1834.*

(First installment.)

THE following letters, illustrating in a variety of ways the nullification movement, have come into the managing editor's hands from various sources. Mr. Edward Spann Hammond of Blackville, S. C., son of Governor and Senator James H. Hammond, has kindly placed at the editor's disposal the letters which Governors Hamilton and Hayne addressed during the crisis to his father, then a young but influential lieutenant of their party, as well as copies of his replies, and a record of a conversation with Calhoun. He has also lent a valuable collection of contemporary pamphlets, which, combined with the considerable collection possessed by the library of Brown University, has helped greatly toward an understanding of the struggle. The letters to Hammond, it may be remarked, are during 1830 and 1831 addressed to him at Columbia; after that, to Silver Bluff or Silverton in Barnwell District. Next in importance are the letters of Hayne to another of his aides, Francis W. Pickens. For these we are indebted to Mrs. J. E. Bacon of Edgefield, daughter of Governor Pickens. The papers once possessed by Governors Hayne and Hamilton, including in the latter case his correspondence with John Randolph of Roanoke, have unhappily perished. General Edward McCrady of Charleston, president of the South Carolina Historical Society, has kindly furnished a copy of a letter from a Union committee, of which his father was a member, to one of the local supporters of that party. For the letters of President Jackson and of Bolling Hall to Nathaniel Macon, possessed by a descendant of Macon, Mrs. Walter K. Martin of Richmond, we are indebted to her and to Professor William E. Dodd of Randolph-Macon College.

It is not doubted that the letters will be thought to be interesting, and to afford a vivid notion of the character of the struggle and

the extent of the resistance planned (the unpreparedness of South Carolina in some respects is made manifest, but that of the United States must also be considered). But the series is too long for one issue of the REVIEW. For want of a better point of division, it has been divided by the date February 1, 1833, the date at which the Ordinance of Nullification was to go into effect. The remaining papers already collected, and perhaps some others, may be expected to appear in the October number.

The reader who wishes to see the same series of events from the point of view of the opposite party, may be referred to Dr. Joseph Johnson's narrative and the letters of Jackson, Huger and Drayton, printed in Stillé's memoir of Joel R. Poinsett, in the twelfth volume of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, and to Grayson's *Life of James Louis Petigru*. For the more general aspects of the struggle, see Houston's *Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina*.

I. ROBERT Y. HAYNE¹ TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, 25th Feb. 1830

Dear Sir.

I have rec^d your letter and will best manifest my friendly disposition towards your enterprise by answering it at once. [You]r objects are honorable, and of vital [im]portance, and you have my best [wis]hes for your success. I agree [wi]th you that our success in the [great?] struggle in which the South [is en]gaged, will in a great measure depend on the *firmness, steadiness, and [tem]per* of our proceedings. Everything [wh]ich looks like unnecessary violence [mu]st have the tendency to create reaction, and yet it is extremely difficult to keep up the public feeling at a proper point, and prevent its boiling over. Men who are suffering, and who are justly indignant at a violation of their rights, can hardly be expected to speak and act with due moderation. Be assured, that a perseverance in the course you indicate as approved of by *your own judgment*, will be attended by the happiest effects. If our friends at home could be induced to base their proceedings on the Virginia Resolutions of '98, I am confident they will carry with them the whole South, and a large portion of the people in other quar[ters]. acting on any other principle, [we] shall encounter difficulties at ev[ery] step. I shall be glad at all [times] to afford you all the informa[tion] in my power, on matters of public concern, and with my best wishes for your welfare am with great respect your

most ob^t Serv^t

ROB. Y. HAYNE.

James H. Hammond Esq.

¹ Hayne was at this time in the Senate. His great speech against Webster had been delivered a month before. Hammond was editing the *Southern Times* at Columbia.

II. ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

WASHINGTON, 29th March 1830.

Dear Sir.

D^r. Cooper's letter has been well rec^d here. Its tone of moderation has secured it a favorable reception. I hope and trust he will be equally temperate in all his writings. We have nothing to gain from violence or shocking even the *prejudices* of the people at home or abroad. I do not think I have seen the true spirit better illustrated than in the short article in the Carolinian, which I send to you, in place of an exposition of my own ideas. I think with you that no attempt ought to be made to produce excitement among our Citizens. Let the sound doctrine be spread abroad, and let them see and feel the actual posture of our affairs. There are only two points on which I will venture to give you a hint. Our Presses at home ought to refuse to discuss in any way the question of the next Presidential Election. We have questions of our own entirely above that of whether A. or B. is to be our next President. We must not again mix up our complaints with mere party questions. We ought to keep aloof from everything calculated to divide our own citizens.

You ought to keep an eye to all the measures *looking to the distribution of the nat^l funds*, whether by direct appropriation of money, or for Roads and Canals, Schools, Pension Bills, or in any other way,—and every decision in favor of such projects ought to be noticed and condemned. I write *in haste* and can only give you *hints*. I do so in compliance with your request, and have only to add that while I shall be happy to aid you with my advice, I wish of course that my suggestions should be considered as thrown out merely for *your consideration*, and intended merely for your own eye.

With great respect, yours

ROB. Y. HAYNE

J. H. Hammond Esq.

III. JAMES HAMILTON, JR.¹ TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON August 24 1830.

It has afforded me Dear Sir the sincerest satisfaction to receive your kind favor of the 21st which gave me the agreeable intelligence that my anxious wishes had been anticipated in a manner so satisfactory and honorable to both parties, through the good offices of the worthy and respectable gentlemen who acted as Mediators between Gen^l Blair and yourself. That his life has been spared for useful and honorable service to the State I sincerely hope, nor can I the less distrust the destiny for which your own has been reserved by the early and powerful exhibition which you have made of public spirit and Talent.²

¹ Major James Hamilton, jr., has been a member of Congress from 1823 to 1829, and was governor of South Carolina from December 1830 to December 1832.

² A pamphlet bearing the title *The Controversy between General James Blair and James H. Hammond, Esq.*, 1830, furnishes the explanation of this allusion. In a let-

I ought to observe to you that the seeming tardiness of my Letter resulted from a misapprehension of the time fixed for the Meeting between Gen^l Blair and yourself. It was reported here that the 28.th was the day, which would have afforded ample time for my Letter to have reached its destination, and operated the purpose for which it was designed.

I will thank you to hand the enclosed to Mr. McMonnis, to the publisher of the S^o Times. It is the amount of my Subscription in advance for the *Country* paper. I take so many papers, and at present so many are sent to me, that I am constrained to consult the economy of time in reading them, by confining my subscription to those at a distance to the weekly papers. Your own fire is so spirited and well directed that I should be disappointed not to see the Times at least once a Week.

The effort of the federal cabal here to put the Collector of the Port ³ at the head of the Gov^t of our City will fail, I trust by such a rebuking majority on the side of the S^t right party, as will teach Uncle Sam's officers that it is as well for them to eat the bread he provides for them in quiet,—and to let the rest of the Community take care of the liberties and honor of the State.

With my best wishes for your happiness and prosperity, I remain, with much esteem, very respectfully

Your ob^t Svt.

J HAMILTON JR

J. H. Hammond, Esq^r

P. S. I must beg you to present my kind regards to Cap^t. Butler. ¹ If I had known that he was to have acted as one of your friends I should of

ter to the *Camden Journal*, dated from Washington, May 30, Gen. Blair, a member of Congress from the district in which Camden was situated, expressed warm satisfaction over President Jackson's veto of the bill for the Maysville Turnpike Road, and declared that thus the system of internal improvements was completely thrown overboard, and that, with regard to the tariff, if South Carolina would exercise a little forbearance, all things would come right in a year or two more. Indignant at such moderation, Hammond commented sarcastically upon the letter in his paper, the *Southern Times*. Blair replied with a long letter of defense, ending with calling Hammond a blackguard. Thenceforward the affair went on in the regular course so well described by Touchstone in a well-known passage. Hammond's next article in the *Times* ended with the declaration that "as far as the freedom of the press is committed to us, we shall preserve it, professionally or otherwise, if the General will signify an inclination for it." Blair's next letter to the *Journal* concluded with the statement that he "held himself responsible to any gentleman that felt himself aggrieved by anything that he had written." Hammond sent him a challenge which was accepted, and a meeting was arranged for August 18. The night before, however, the friends of the two arranged a reconciliation. It was agreed that all offensive expressions should be withdrawn, that a personal encounter was unnecessary, and that an amicable adjustment would be honorable to both parties. The *Times* and the *Journal* published the formal pronouncement of the friends, and "the incident was closed."

¹ James R. Pringle, collector of the port of Charleston, was put forward by the Union party as candidate for the office of intendant (= mayor) of the city, and was elected in place of Henry L. Pinckney, editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, on September 6.

² Pierce M. Butler, Hammond's second, afterward killed at Churubusco.

course have directed myself to him, which long and agreeable acquaintance would have fully justified.

IV. JAMES HAMILTON, JR. TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON Jan^y 8 1831.¹

My Dear Sir.

On my arrival in the City a few Days since, I had the pleasure to receive your two favors.

The course which you have indicated of watching closely and exposing fully and boldly the proceedings of Congress in the Times appears to me to be eminently judicious, during the session of Congress. after the 4th March we can then begin to say something of our means of redress,—and what is left for S^c Carolina to do for herself.

I hope you have made a final arrangement with Mr. McMonnis and that he agrees to contribute \$500 for your editorial compensation. the remaining \$500 shall be raised in a manner the most delicate and respectful to your own feelings. Your services are of the last importance to the cause and let nothing separate you from the Times. I hope the Telescope will be merged in it, by M^r. McMonnis buying the former in, which will be the best mode now of taking it out of the hands of the enemy.

I am exceedingly gratified by your acceptance of the station in my personal Staff as one of my Aids. Do not get your Uniform until you see my general order which will be out next Month, which may make some slight alteration in the uniform. I have to leave the City today for a few Days. on my return we shall move on our State Rights association, and beat to quarters again

With great esteem, Dear Sir,

Very respectfully and truly Yours,

J HAMILTON Jr

To Col. Ja^s H. Hammond
Columbia.

P. S. I have deemed it best in order to stop any slanders of Hay's to remit Gen^l Hayne another fifty Dollars, to pay him, which compleats the \$250 which he was to have received under my contract with Gen^l Green.

VI. JAMES HAMILTON, JR. TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON Jan^y 10th 1831.

My Dear Sir

I am just on the eve of my departure from town for a few Days and have only a Moment to observe that I forgot in my last Letter to say that until the adjournment of Congress I think the publication of the Convention Debate may be postponed in the Times for the reasons you very properly indicate.² I would by all means bring out at the end of the

¹ Major Hamilton had become governor on December 9.

² The legislature of South Carolina, in the session which ended December 19, debated warmly the question of calling a convention, such as was actually convened in 1832. The constitution of the state required for such an act a two-thirds vote of both houses; this was not secured. The debate was printed in a pamphlet, Columbia, 1831.

Debate the names of the *yeas* and *nays* on *every resolution*, that we may know as M^r Webster says "*Who is who.*" My best wishes and esteem attend you

Yours very truly and respect^l

J HAMILTON JR

Col. J. H. Hammond.

VII. JAMES HAMILTON, JR. TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON, Feb^r 5th 1831.

My dear Sir.

Just as I was on the e^ve of my departure, indeed just about to get into my carriage, your favor reached me. On my return to town, which will be in ten days, I will answer you fully ; in the mean time I think you had better advise M^r McMonnis not to incur any expense in regard to the Convention Debate without the guaranty of a sufficient subscription list. After the adjournment of Congress we shall organize our States Rights Association and I hope be able to do something for the press in the Country.

Things go on well at home and quite bad enough at Washington to justify both our opinions and principles.

The Mercury¹ is still sluggish but when Congress wanes to its end we will put a little fire into its columns.

The Tone of the Times is excellent and it is just where it should be. Keep at the helm, keep cool, and take deliberate aim.

My Charleston review will not be before the 1st April. In ten days I shall issue my order for the uniform of my aids. until then do not procure yours and request the other gentlemen to suspend their preparations. My aids are invited to attend the grand Military Ball on the 3^d March. I hope we shall have the pleasure of seeing you.

I send you Judge Huger's Speech, which I have not had time to read.² I remain, My D^r Sir, with esteem

Very respectfully and truly

Yours,

J HAMILTON JR

Col. J H Hammond.

VIII. MEMORANDUM BY JAMES H. HAMMOND.³

COLUMBIA 18th March, 1831.

I called at 7 Oclock this morning, at Judge DeSaussure's to see Mr. Calhoun, the Vice President of the United States. He is on his way from Washington to his residence in Pendleton. On receiving notice of

¹ The *Charleston Mercury*.

² Daniel E. Huger, afterwards a senator of the United States, resigned his position as a judge in 1830 in order to represent St. Philip's and St. Michael's in the General Assembly and speak and act against nullification.

³ A fragment of a journal, written in a commonplace-book of Mr. Hammond's. Letters of Calhoun to him, dated January 15 and February 16, 1831, are printed in the *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun* (A.H.A. 1899, II.) pp. 280, 289.

his arrival in town, yesterday morning, I paid him a visit of civility, and my call this morning was in consequence of a wish wh. he expressed to have some private conversation with me. He was alone, and immediately entered freely into the discussion of the affairs of the Nation. He said that great changes had taken and were taking place now in the political elements and that the course of a few months would exhibit a situation of parties in the country as extraordinary, as it had been unexpected. Genl. Jackson he said was losing the confidence of the Republican party every where, and even Tennessee had to a man sustained him (Mr. C) in the late rupture wh. had taken place between himself and the General. Kentucky was with him,—so was Pennsylvania, and Virginia with the exception of Stevenson and Archer. In fact three fourths of the members of Congress were with him ag^t the President. That he (Gen. J) had deserted all his political positions; he had first intimated he would not be a candidate for re-election, and now was: that he would not appoint members of Congress to office and had done so continually, and in short was as jealous of his military fame, as ever was Othello of his wife and easily played upon with it, by the cunning men by whom he is surrounded. For these reasons he thought confidence of the Republican party in General Jackson very much diminished; and for himself, he had dissolved all ties, political or otherwise, with him and forever. He did not think him as sincere a man, as he once did. With regard to the opposition, Mr. Calhoun thought he could discern a crack in that party also. The Tariff-men were beginning to believe that to push their policy any further would be a desperate movement, that would in all probability destroy the whole of it, and therefore the most reflecting among them were not disposed to support Henry Clay, for fear of his going too far with the system. Mr Webster he thought the only very prominent man thoroughly in favor of Mr Clay. The members from Kentucky had gone home resolved to push the election *against* Clay, tho' not in favor of Jackson. Should they succeed Mr. Clay was gone, and his partizans hating Genl. Jackson and Mr Van Buren as they did, would unite upon any man to put him out. They would even take him (Mr. C.) with nullification on his head. (Judge Martin¹ was in the room and heard this expression also). In this state of affairs he thought best for the South to stand uncommitted on the Presidential question and to rally and concentrate her strength in pushing the principles for which she had been of late contending. He then spoke of the three great interests of the Nation, The North, the South and the West. They had been struggling in a fierce war with each other and he thought the period was approaching that was to determine whether they could be reconciled or not so as to perpetuate the Union. He was of opinion that they could. The interest of the North was a manufacturing and protecting one, that of the South Free Trade, and that of the West was involved in the distribution of the lands and Internal Improvements.

¹ William D. Martin, whose term as member of Congress had just expired.

How were they to be reconciled? The West must have some visible appropriations to counterbalance those for the improvement of the Harbours, fortifications &c of the Atlantic States, of which they were exceedingly jealous. And in the distribution of every acre of the public land they felt a deep solicitude. *He would therefore gratify them with a system of internal Improvements.* And here he spoke fully and freely of his opinions on this subject. He said he had always doubted of the Constitutionality of Internal Improvements and that in all his Reports and Speeches on the subject, he had never once committed himself on the Constitutional ground. That he had refused to do so in his Bonus Bill Report, against the wishes both of Clay and Lowndes, telling them that he had his doubts. That he thought he had made that Report in the strictest conformity with the wishes of the President, and was completely thunderstruck when Mr. Madison placed his Veto on it. He told him that if any the slightest hint had been given that neither he nor the administration would have been embarrassed by it. Mr. Madison did it to please Mr. Jefferson! Mr. Calhoun said he had been immediately transferred from Congress to the War Department and had never had an opportunity of vindicating himself from the various charges made upon him on this score wh. he felt himself prepared to do most triumphantly whenever called upon in such a manner that he could come out with propriety. Mr. Clay, he said, had seized upon In. Im. as a hobby and ridden it to death. Carried it much further than he ever intended to do and made it odious. In fact for the last five years, he said, he had seen that it would not do and had told his friends in Congress that the system, as carried on, must be arrested. Mr. Calhoun proposed to amend the Constitution for the purpose of making these In. Imp. and to make the public lands the great fund to be set apart for that purpose. He did not agree with Mr Hayne in his project of giving those lands away, wh. would at once unsettle the whole landed property of the U. S. Nor did he think as well of Mr. Webster's plan of doling them away by littles to the people, thus constituting them a great gambling fund, for corrupt speculations. The advantages to the South from this system would be very great. By connecting the channels of the West with those to the Atlantic it would bring the trade at once to its point, thro' the Southern States. He spoke of the Union of the Ohio and the Kenhawa wh. would make Virginia one state. Of the trade that would come to Charleston through the Saluda Gap wh. together with a rail-road from that city to Florence on the Tennessee river, and a canal thro' the cape of Florida would make it the great City of the South.¹ The Free Trade System was that of the South and thus would she reap the advantages. He did not dwell upon this latter proposition, but showed that in this manner the interests of the West and South might readily be reconciled. But how was the North to be prevailed on to give up the protecting system? Mr. Calhoun said that he was for direct taxation ulti-

¹ Many letters on the subject are printed in Calhoun's *Correspondence*.

mately, but at present he aimed only at reducing the Tariff down to the Revenue point—about Eleven or Twelve millions per annum, wh. would enable the government to pay the civil list handsomely. He said he was no radical in this and thought the government should be liberal in its constitutional expenditures. The Tariff at this point might be so adjusted as to suit the Northern people better than it did now. The general increase of duty on every article had diminished the profits of each individually by adding to the cost of every thing necessary to the production of each manufacturer. He would propose to single out some of the most important articles and giving them a liberal protection, enhance their profits still further by lowering the duties upon all [or] nearly all the other articles of necessary consumption. He said that the Northern manufacturers, if they took an extended view of things, must look to a foreign market and with that object it would be their desire and their most urgent interest, to cheapen everything in the country but their own peculiar manufactures. Taking this view of it, he thought the Northern people might easily be induced to lower the Tariff to the revenue point and thus reconcile the interests of the North and South. This is a pretty full view of Mr. Calhoun's plan of reconciliation. He thought it practicable—at all events worth trying. If it failed or matters continued going forward as they now did he looked upon disunion as inevitable. And he thought it best, for the system of plunder such as it was now was the most despicable of all possible forms of government. For his part he would not administer the government as it was now operating. He regarded it as a despicable ambition. It would be administering an insolvent estate,—and one, said Judge Martin who had entered the room during our conversation, that would soon have to plead "*plene administravit.*" If things could be fixed upon the basis he proposed the government would be strengthened, and regain the confidence of the people. It would prevent the traffic of interests now carried on. In this game the North could beat us. We being the payer and they the receiver they could outbid us with the West and always w^d do it. When I started to come away Mr Calhoun took his hat, and we walked together for some distance. He then hinted pretty strongly that if things went right, he might be placed in nomination for the Presidency next fall. I told him candidly that such a step would be imprudent at this moment both at home and abroad, and should not be thought of at this time. He agreed with me. He said his object was to throw himself entirely upon the South and if possible to be more Southern if possible. In advancing our principles therefore, we should advance him in the only way in wh. he desired to be advanced.

This I believe is a correct outline of the long interesting interview wh. I had with Mr. Calhoun. To many of his projects I could not yield my assent, and his fine theory—if sound and republican—I fear will be found impracticable.

—I dined with Mr. Calhoun to-day at Judge D's and took tea with him at Major Taylor's. He is much less disposed to harangue than usual.

There is a listlessness about him wh. shows that his mind is deeply engaged and no doubt that it is on the subject of the Presidency. He is unquestionably quite feverish under the present excitement, and his hopes.

IX. JAMES HAMILTON, JR. TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON May 3^d 1831.

My Dear Sir.

I have had the pleasure by yesterdays Mail to receive your kind favor, and regret that a pressure of business official and otherwise prevents my doing any thing more at present but to acknowledge its receipt.

I had previously been made acquainted by your Letter addressed to me at Columbia at the happy change of auspices which in all probability will keep you in Carolina for a Career I trust of exceptional prosperity and honor. Let me add my most fervent wishes that *yours* may in *all respects* be realized.

I am just preparing for my review tomorrow, and for my departure from the City to attend on the 6th for the same purpose at Strawberry. On my return to town I hope to meet McDuffie and after a full consultation with our friends here we will write you precisely what tone it is deemed most advisable to give to the press. I am fully aware of the great peril of permitting public feeling to collapse because the inference made is that the cause is not worth supporting or the party unworthy of supporting it. We must have a rally on some firm ground and then stand manfully to our arms. The administration at Washington cannot recover from the retreat *precipitate* of the late Cabinet, and consequently Jackson's reelection is placed in such hazard as scarcely to be a probable event. We had better lay too, as the Sailors say, with our Main top sail aback and see our way well ahead before we make sail. In truth it becomes of vast importance to know the true character to be given to this change, whether it is in fact a countermarch from fear or from a profound spirit of intrigue. I would suggest silence on the subject of the new Cabinet until from Hayne, Mc Duffie, and my own knowledge of the individuals we can give you a true Key to the whole movement. Expect to hear from me soon and be assured in the mean time of the sincere esteem and regard with which I am

faithfully and respectfully

Your friend

J. HAMILTON JR.

X. JAMES HAMILTON, JR. TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON May 21st 1831.

My Dear Sir.

I have had the pleasure to receive by last evening's Mail your favor of the 16th inst.

Whilst I deeply regret that we must lose your valuable services at the Head of the Times, I am greatly rejoiced that this retirement from your

Post is the result of such a felicitous Cause ; on this event allow me to tender you my heartfelt congratulations. If it were practicable for me to leave Charleston in June, nothing could afford me greater pleasure than to be present at your marriage, but public and private engagements forbid my entertaining such an anticipation.

I trust your retirement however from the Times will be only a short pause in the Career of your public usefulness, and that we shall have you in some even more distinguished and important Station in our party. We shall at least know for any purpose of high service and generous devotion where we have a Man on whom we can rely. You must however as soon after your "Honey Moon" as possible beat to quarters again, as we must make this Summer tell by the efficiency of our efforts in the common cause.

M^oDuffie received a public dinner on Thursday at the hands of our party, and made a superb and gigantic effort which has struck a damp in the hearts of our opponent[s]. He is staying with me and preparing it carefully and elaborately for publication.¹ We shall have it extensively circulated in a pamphlet form throughout the South. In the excellence of the *tact* which he displayed in adapting his speech to the crisis and the community in which it was delivered, he was almost seemingly inspired. In the course of a fortnight we shall move on our State rights associations and not only attempt to make "Nullification easy" but successful too. I shall be at all times gratified to hear from you and never more than when you tell me that you are prosperous and happy. Believe me, My Dear Sir, ever with esteem

Respect^l and faithfully yours,

J. HAMILTON JR.

Col. Hammond.

XI. JAMES HAMILTON, JR. TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON June 11th 1831.

My Dear Sir.

I have received your kind favor detailing the particulars of your affair with Daniel. I assure you that they are well understood here, as well as the necessity under which you acted. The truth is that no Man who read Daniel's² editorial could have doubted for an instant what course you would have pursued, and I sincerely rejoice that your escape from his pistol has been as signal as the gallantry with which you advanced to its Mouth. I think this incident will put a curb upon him, and that he will see the propriety of maintaining a certain sort of decorum if not justice to our party.

I have seen with great regret the course which Green³ is pursuing towards us and M^r. Calhoun. He will ruin the latter if he is not checked.

¹ *Speech at the Public Dinner, May 19, Charleston, 1831.*

² Editor of the *Telescope*, Union Organ.

³ Duff Green, editor of the *United States Telegraph*.

Green has certainly got into his head, I hope without M^r. C.'s sanction, that by compromising with the Manufacturers that he can be elected. Indeed Green has written me a long Epistle on the subject, holding out the most alluring probabilities of M^r. Calhoun's success and of the willingness of the Manufacturers to compromise with us on the principle of his Speech in 1816. I have replied very explicitly to him that in no shape lot or scot would we be included in the arrangement, that we would take no part in the presidential election and that I was quite sure that M^r. C.'s prospects were as hopeless as his ruin would be certain if he was brought to give his countenance to such a compact. He also civilly asked if we were all crazy at M^r. Duffie's dinner, if we intended to start into open rebellion and insure the empire of the whore of Washington (M^{rs}. E.¹ I suppose). to these civil things my Reply was brief and explicit—That whether we decreed perpetual empire to the W—— of Washington or not, or started into rebellion, we should go on and abate not one jot of our Zeal in the support of our principles, which we would sacrifice to the elevation of no Man on earth. That as for surrendering Nullification, which he kindly recommended, that that this was as impossible as his proposed league between the Nullifiers and the Manufacturers which in itself was as practicable as a confederation between the Poles and the Cossacks. I have no doubt he moves in this matter with Calhoun's sanction. M^r. C. has too much sense not to see the essential Weakness of his occupying a double position, Janus faced, with one expression of countenance for one side of the Potomac and another expression for the other.—I am happy to hear that your nuptials are so near at hand. Wishing you all manner of happiness and that I may hear very often from you during your journey I remain, My Dear Sir, very respectfully and faithfully

Yours,

J. HAMILTON JR.

P.S. Pray obtain the best information you can of the State of public sentiment in the interior. Pray say to D^r. Davis and D^r. Cooper that I will write them in the course of the next week.

P.S. I enclosed M^r. Calhoun copies of Green's Letters to me and my Letter in reply, in order that he might see the whole ground. If Green continues this course we shall have to be even more explicit than we have been in the short editorial which Pinckney put forth a few Days since.

XII. ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

WASHINGTON, 29th Dec^r. 1831.

Dear Sir.

I received your letter in due course of mail and have delayed my answer until I could see the Secretary of War. I have just returned from his house, and have got him to make a memorandum of my cordial concurrence in your brother's² recommendation for a Cadet's warrant.

¹ Eaton.

² Marcus C. M. Hammond, West Point 1836, afterward major-general of Georgia militia.

If my voice can have any weight in the case, the course I have pursued will secure its utmost influence. I cannot say, however, what chance your brother may stand, as this will depend upon a variety of considerations.

The course of our Legislature was on the whole a prudent one, and the nomination question was disposed of admirably. Every thing is in confusion here but all hopes of an adjustment of the tariff on *sound revenue principles* are fast melting away. Both parties are in truth looking only to an arrangement, which shall not impair the *protecting system* and the true game now is to secure the manufacturing interest, while the South is to be beguiled. Let our friends therefore keep their eyes wide open. Denounce all *partial arrangements* as worse than nothing, and if we can do no more, we will maintain our moral strength at home.

I have only time to add that I am
very truly yours

ROB. Y. HAYNE

J. H. Hammond Esq.

XIII. JAMES HAMILTON, JR. TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.¹

RICE HOPE Savannah
River Jan^y 16th 1832.

I was exceedingly mortified, my Dear Sir, on my return to my House at dark to find your Note. if it had been earlier received I should have sent my Boat off at once for you under the hope that M^r. Hammond could have given you leave to pass the evening with me in my solitary Box in the Swamp. Nothing would have gratified me more than to have had a long conversation with you over a Cup of Coffee and a good fire and nothing I assure you shall prevent my visiting you at Silver Bluff on my return from Pendleton but some overruling or unavoidable accident as I desire much to see you before the meeting of our Convention, which I believe will be one of the most important assemblies in its probable influence on public opinion and public measures that has ever convened in the State.² I have no doubt it will sketch the chart which we are to Steer by after the adjournment of Congress. The Committee on Manufactures will report in favor of an excess of Revenue over and above the necessary wants of Government of 5 Millions for internal improvements and Mr. McLane's other projects which I trust will arouse poor old dyeing Virginia.

We must push on vigorously towards Spring and have the people prepared not only to detect the fraud of a deceptive adjustment of the tariff

¹ Addressed : "Col. James H. Hammond (of S. C.) At Mrs. Maxwell's, Savannah."

² The allusion is to a convention of delegates from all the state rights and free trade associations in the state, which assembled at Charleston, February 22, 1832, and over which Governor Hamilton presided. See Houston, *Nullification in South Carolina*, p. 105.

but to resist it too—which I think with prudence moderation candor and firmness we may accomplish. We must not however now push matters to anything like an extremity.

I shall leave this to-morrow Morning for the pilings and shall return in the trip after the next in the John D. Mangin. I shall with this view be at Hamburg on my way back to take the Boat on Thursday the 2^d of Feb^r and I hope to have the pleasure of being at Silver Bluff on Friday the 3^d by noon that I may pass that day with you and on Saturday take the Boat at the Bluff. You need not make any arrangement about sending horses for me to Hamburg, as I shall have my Carriage there having dispatched it from Charleston to meet me on Wednesday at the former place.

I am not surprised at our South Country as M^r Macon calls it being infested with the Missionaries of whom you speak. It is nothing to what we shall see if we do not stand manfully at the Safety valve of Nullification, or to use a more euphonious term, State interposition. In conclusion, My Dear Sir, I am almost inclined to quarrel with you for not coming over this afternoon with my servant who was in town and would have shown you the way. Do me the favor to make my best respects to M^{rs}. Hammond and be assured of the invariable regard and esteem with which

I am Faithfully yours,

J. HAMILTON, JR.

P. S. I need scarcely say that I write this on the possible contingency of not meeting you at the Steam Boat to-morrow at the Pilings.

XIV. CIRCULAR OF THE UNION PARTY'S COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE
FOR CHARLESTON.

(*Confidential.*)

CHARLESTON, November 2, 1832.¹

Mr. Joshua Teague,
Milton, Laurens, S. C.

Sir: Besides the reasons publicly given by the central committee of our party here,² we are instructed by them to communicate to you less publicly, and through you to our party in your district, some other considerations which have determined their course.

The doubtful character of the Convention about to be organized is a strong reason why we should not permit our leaders to take part in its deliberations. It is certainly doubtful, if nothing more, whether such a Convention will represent the supreme sovereignty of the State; for besides the objections so well urged in our published communication, (that the representation is the same as that of the Legislature, and thus makes our very slaves elements in the composition of the sovereignty of our

¹ The legislature had on October 26 passed (by 31 votes to 13 in the Senate, 96 to 25 in the House) the act for calling a convention of the state. The elections were to be held on November 12 and 13; the convention was to assemble on November 19.

² See extracts from their address, in Niles's *Register*, XLIII. 175.

State) this Convention is restricted in its action and limited in its duration, when it is obvious that sovereign power must be above all legislation. Even the body which calls this Convention into existence has had its powers called in question, and the able arguments which have appeared against it have convinced many that that body was not constitutionally the Legislature of our State. Should we not then reserve ourselves for every objection which can be made to the legitimacy of this Convention for the day of reckoning and account, when the people shall have recovered from the intoxication of the present excitement and return to their usual sobriety? But if delegates of our party take their seats in that body will they not commit the party to abide by its decrees and support its character? At all events they will add to it all the weight and influence which those delegates will possess as men high in the confidence and esteem of their own party.

Again, by keeping aloof and avoiding party contests for the present, we withdraw that external pressure which is the only power capable of binding and uniting a party harmoniously together and expose our adversaries inevitably to dissensions and contentions, which have never failed in the history of the world to divide triumphant parties and break them in pieces. While party is arrayed against party, the most aspiring can be controlled by the danger of defeat. But when power and office are entirely within the gift of one party, the ambitious, no longer fearing a common enemy, will certainly contend for them among themselves.

In addition to all this we would urge that if the Nullifiers eventually fail and the Union is preserved, the mere fact of having held a seat in that body will be a reproach always requiring explanation; for then, like the Hartford Convention, it will consign its members to an odious fame.

This much we are instructed to say to you privately, in vindication of the course pursued by our party in the parishes, to be communicated to such as you choose, particularly the influential, but not to be published. We are also instructed to suggest that even if you find it necessary to run a ticket for delegates to the Convention in order to maintain our superiority in your district, whether it would not be best for the delegates when elected to refuse to take their seats and thus keep your district altogether unrepresented. This course would be a sufficient cooperation with us here, without yielding the contest in the districts where we are strongest, and possibly might be best; but should your delegates take their seats in the Convention we fear a fatal breach will be made in the ranks of our party. The Nullifiers are already felicitating themselves upon a division in our ranks. It remains for you to decide whether you will blast their hopes or confirm their anticipations. With respect, gentlemen, we remain your obedient servants,

EDWARD MCCRADY,¹
 RICHARD YEADON, Jr.
 JOHN PHILLIPS,

Committee of Correspondence for the Parishes of St. ———.

¹ A nephew of Justice William Johnson of the United States Supreme Court. From 1844 to 1850 he was United States district attorney for the district of South Carolina.

XV. JAMES H. HAMMOND TO ROBERT Y. HAYNE.¹

SILVER BLUFF 20 Dec. 1832.

Dear Sir.

Gen Jackson's extraordinary proclamation has just reached me. It is the black Cockade Federalism of '98 revived fearfully invigorated by its long sleep, and seems destined to bring about another reign of terror. Based as it is upon the notoriously false assumption that S Carolina intends to resist the laws [and] Congress with the bayonet, the spirit of it, to every intelligent mind, is as ridiculous, as its arguments are absurd. But there is so much ignorance and passion in the country that both are dangerous, at this crisis, and must be met, promptly firmly and *efficiently*. To aid this purpose permit me to tender you my services in any way that you can make them most useful. I do not seek from you any post of distinction, not only because I can have no claims to it, but because at this moment every man must do his duty to his country without reference to himself. I will undertake any service you desire, and repair at an instants warning to any point, and for any purpose you will designate. I shall immediately set about arranging my private affairs for taking the field at an early day, not to quit it until all is settled. In this part of the country the people are very ignorant and have been heretofore rather inclined to the Union party, but if you think I can be best employed in recruiting Volunteers I will set about raising a company as soon as I receive your instructions as to the time and place [you] will want them and whether you can furnish arms &c and will endeavour to have them ready for service in due time. I have however no choice of employment, so far as I am concerned.

It is impossible to estimate the effect of Gen Jackson's proclamation. Upon the timid and ignorant of our party I fear it will have great influence, which it will require much caution to counteract. If I might be permitted respectfully and with great deference to make a suggestion to you, it would be that you should answer it officially. A similar proclamation from you would command the attention of the Union, and a calm exposition of the false and dangerous positions of the President so entirely subversive of every feature of republican government—a dignified rebuke of its prejudice and passion, and a firm defiance of its threats would have a wonderful effect on the American people. I think his rash denunciation and reckless and arbitrary doctrines afford the means of prostrating him if used with skill. If there is any purity left in our people or our institutions they will react under his monstrous usurpations. If there is none the sooner a general crush is effected the better. I can scarcely persuade myself that Gen Jackson yet intends to do any thing he appears to threaten, but that his alleged position of *defence*, and his insinuated want of *vested* power have been cunningly referred to that he may effect a retreat under their cover. And that after all he intends

¹ Hayne had just been chosen governor. The ordinance for nullification had been passed on November 24.

to make congress repeal the law while he to save appearances is making such violent demonstrations of his intention to inforce it. Whether there be any truth in this conjecture or not is not material to our course. I take it for granted that you will concentrate a large force in Charleston to meet this emergency. Permit me again with much humility to suggest that that concentration be effected silently and without parade. We have already done enough to alarm the more timid of our friends and to afford apparent grounds of justification for the mad councils of the President. At the same time care should be taken to have the force strong enough to annihilate instantaneously the first show of resistance to our laws, and give to treason as well as tyranny so signal and severe a rebuke that they will not recover from it soon.

I shall await with impatience your commands wh. will reach me through the Augusta Post office. In the meantime with the deepest interest in the success of all your measures and the highest respect and esteem for yourself

I remain

Your excellency's obedient servant

JAMES H. HAMMOND.

XVI. ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO FRANCIS W. PICKENS.

COLUMBIA 21st Dec^r 1832

Sir

I enclose you a Commission as my Aid-de Camp.¹ Full instructions will be hereafter forwarded. In the meantime you will be charged with the duty of raising, inspecting, and granting Commissions to Volunteer Companies, for which purpose General Orders are enclosed, and blank Commissions furnished. Report to me at the earliest day, with full information directed to Charleston.

Respectfully Your Obt Servt

ROB^t Y. HAYNE.

P. S. You will take the Oath Yourself and suggest that it is also to be taken by the Officers of the Volunteers to be raised before any superior officer.

Addressed: "Public Service

"Francis W. Pickens Esq., Edgefield C H., S. C."'

XVII. ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO FRANCIS W. PICKENS.²

Confidential.

CHARLESTON, 26th December, 1832.

Sir,

I forwarded to you, a few days since, your Commission as Aid-de-Camp, with a brief statement of some of the duties which would be imposed upon you. I propose now to enter into further explanations. I

¹ Twenty-eight aides were appointed this day. Niles, XLIII. 318.

² From a printed confidential circular.

will begin by stating my entire confidence that, at this crisis in our affairs, *when everything dear to our country is at stake*, you will enter upon the duties I have assigned you with a zeal, and energy, and devotion to the cause, which will incline you without hesitation to sacrifice all private considerations to the public good. Relying on this spirit, I will proceed to unfold to you my views, with the remark that they are intended only for your own guidance, and are to be no further disclosed than may be necessary to enable you to carry them into effect. I propose to secure the services of a Volunteer force, which I hope will not fall short of 10,000 men; no part of which, however, will be called into service until an emergency shall arise which may render this necessary. In that event, I shall take care that an equal portion of duty shall fall upon the militia which may not volunteer. I wish you to exert yourself *personally* and through others, to have volunteer companies formed, and to induce those already existing to volunteer in as large numbers and as promptly as possible. When convenient, you will personally inspect these companies, and in every case transmit to me, directed to "the Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General in Charleston," a list of the Officers and the number of the men, with a general statement of the arms at their command. To these Volunteer Corps, you may say in my name, that measures have been taken to procure an ample supply of Arms of every description, and that so soon as this can be effected, they shall be provided; in the mean time they will be paraded with such as they may be able to command. To the Cavalry you may say, that I am in hopes in a very short time to forward a supply of Sabres and Pistols, and you will inform me of the number wanted, and to whom they shall be forwarded. I wish you to furnish a copy of the "*Circular*" lately sent you, to each Colonel, and to such other Officers as you may think necessary, so as to make all the Militia Officers in your District acquainted with the fact, that you are the appointed Agent of the Executive, charged in that District with the transaction of all military business. Where you want assistance you will call upon the Staff Officers already in Commission, within your District, and should further aid be necessary send me the names of proper persons to be appointed.

Inform every Colonel, in writing, that he will be furnished with fifty copies of the "Abstract for the Manœuvres of Infantry and Riflemen" adopted by the Legislature at their last session; on applying in person or by written order to the Secretary of State in Columbia or Charleston, to be given out *in the first instance to the Volunteer Corps*, and the surplus to the rest of the Militia. A full supply of books will soon be obtained however, and every officer of Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, will be furnished with them. The Cavalry will in like manner be furnished with "*Hoyt's Tactics*" on application. All demands for any purpose made through you will be promptly attended to by me, and if you want a supply of Books for *distribution* they will be furnished.

Having made these general explanations of your duties, I now proceed to a matter of THE MOST IMPORTANT NATURE, and if you are able,

by any efforts, *promptly* to carry my views in relation to it into full effect, you will not only secure my approbation, but entitle yourself to the lasting gratitude of the country. The VOLUNTEER CORPS above alluded to are intended to be called out by Companies, Battalions or Regiments, but a sudden emergency may arise when men may be wanted at a given point before such Corps can be prepared and marched to it. I deem it indispensable therefore, that a body of *Mounted Minute Men* should be always prepared to proceed in the shortest time possible to any place which may be designated, to be kept on duty for a few days or a few weeks, until more regularly organized Corps shall be brought into the field. My plan is this. Let a number of men, (every one of whom *keeps a horse*,) agree to repair at a moment's warning to any point which may be designated by the Governor in any emergency. Let them then come prepared with Guns or Rifles, or Arms of any description, with a supply of Powder and Ball, and come in the shortest time possible. If in each District only *one hundred* such men could be secured, we would have the means of throwing 2,500 of the *elite* of the whole State upon a given point in three or four days. And by no other means could this be effected. I wish you, therefore, to prepare a paper to the following effect, viz :

“ We the subscribers, pledge ourselves *on honor*, to repair at a minute's warning, and without delay, to any point in the State which may be designated by the Governor, to perform any lawful service, in defence of the State, which may be required of us. For this purpose we will provide our own horses, arms and ammunition, and when assembled, we will arrange ourselves into a company, to be commanded by some officer chosen by ourselves, and to be called the Minute Men of Edgefield¹ District.” To persons who may sign such a paper, you may give the assurance that they will be called out only when necessary, that they will only be kept in the field until the regular volunteer Corps can be brought out, and that on their arrival at the point which may be designated, provisions and other supplies, and arms if necessary, will be furnished them. It would be preferred that they should serve without pay, as *partizans*, but this must not be stipulated for. Let it be distinctly understood, however, that a failure to appear at the point required, will be considered as a dereliction of duty, and will be attended by disgrace. To execute this plan, it may be well to select ten influential men in various parts of your District, to be called Leaders ; bring them fully into the scheme, and let each of them engage ten men as their quota. When the notice is given to you, that the minute men are wanted, you will instantly inform the Leaders and get them to extend the notice to their respective squads. Each man may then instantly proceed by *himself*, or otherwise to the place designated, with the assurance, that he will there find his comrades. Have one or more expresses always at your command, and bear in mind, that you will be held responsible for the speedy and certain extension and prompt execution of all orders. If you need assistance say so, for no

¹ A blank left in the print is supplied with the word Edgefield in manuscript.

excuse will be received for any failure, when your services are required. Remember that you fill one of the most responsible situations in the State, and it would be better to abandon it at once, than to fail in the slightest degree, to fulfil its vitally important duties.

I wish you to see personally each of the Colonels, and learn every thing relative to the general condition of the militia, within your District—the temper of the men—the state of their arms;—whether those out of order can be repaired in your neighbourhood—and what supplies exist of Field Pieces, Muskets, Rifles, Lead, &c, and generally every thing, which it is important for me to know ;—all of which may be embraced in a confidential Report.¹

Very respectfully yr ob^t S^r

ROB. Y. HAYNE

Col. F. W. Pickens.

P.S. The uniform of my staff will be the same as my Predecessor's except *under boots* and a *short yellow crane Plume*. Palmetto Buttons of a beautiful pattern may be had at Roche's, Charleston,² or of Col. P. M. Butler, Columbia.³

XVIII. JAMES H. HAMMOND TO ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

BARNWELL C. H. 8 January 1833

Sir.

I had the honor to receive a commission as your Aid-de-Camp bearing date the 21st Ult. accompanied by several copies of Your General Orders and Circulars, and your letter of instructions charging me with the duty of “raising inspecting and commissioning Volunteer Companies in this District.” I had also the honor subsequently to receive another letter of Instructions from you informing me more in detail of the duties you intended me to perform. Immediately on receiving your first communication I qualified myself to act by taking the prescribed oath and proceeded to distribute the circulars and General Orders throughout the district. An arrangement was made to have a general meeting of the citizens of Barnwell at the Court House yesterday and in the mean time I communicated by letter with the most influential men in the District. Yesterday the meeting took place and I am happy to inform you that on no occasion have I seen more enthusiasm and unanimity among the people. You will see in the papers the resolutions that were passed,⁴ and I assure you they breathe the true spirit of the occasion. I made every exertion in my power to stimulate the military spirit of the people and found but little difficulty in succeeding to an extent beyond my ex-

¹ What follows is in manuscript.

² An amusing tale respecting the palmetto buttons may be found in Niles's *Register*, XLIII. 146, and another in Josiah Quincy's *Figures of the Past*, p. 354; and perhaps they may be said to confirm each other. The former relates to a tailor designated as “R.,” presumably the Roche above mentioned.

³ Col. Pierce M. Butler, a bank president at Columbia, killed at Churubusco in 1847.

⁴ See Niles, XLIII. 397.

pectations. I am not yet able to give you a report that will be as full and satisfactory as I hope to present to you ere long, but will proceed to state generally the situation and temper of the District, as I suppose you wish to be put in possession of some data upon which you may calculate as speedily as possible the military strength of the State.

We have two Regiments in Barnwell, the 11th commanded by Col John Aaron, Lower 3 Runs P. O., and the 43 commanded by Col Jesse Rice. In the 11th one battalion is commanded by Lieut Col. Gasper I. Trotti and the other by Major James Furze. In the 43 one Battalion is commanded by Lieu^t Col Frederick Bamberg, the other at present has no commander, but an election has been ordered and will be held in a few days. These Officers are all warm and zealous supporters of the State, and eager to testify their patriotism by any service you may designate. The Battalion that has no commander has but one Union man in it. The beat companies in their respective Regiments and Battalions are all officered but two in the uncommanded Battalion and one in Col. Bamberg's and for these elections have been or will be immediately ordered. The men generally are as well equipped as the rest of the militia of the State, and from the best information I can collect at least three-fourths of them have guns. Their inferior officers in some cases are intelligent and active men, but most perhaps scarcely competent to command in active service. Neither are the superior officers what you would style Military men, but in case of necessity they will do very well to command until their places are better supplied. In the two Regiments there [are] at least twelve hundred fighting men independent of the Volunteer Corps. Of these there are four companies: Capt Johnsons Troop on Sav. Riv. [Savannah River] in the unofficered Battalion, composed of about Fifty men and in a flourishing condition. I am informed by the Captain that he is in want of a few swords and pistols which Col Hogg (to whose Regiment he belongs) has promised to procure; Cap^t Tindrels company of Riflemen in Col Trotti's Battalion, of which I can say nothing certain at present further than that it is regarded as a well appointed and finely disciplined corps and mostly Whigs; Capt Holden's company of Infantry in Col Bamberg's Battalion, not in a flourishing condition at this time and wanting in some equipments of which I will inform you more particularly at a future day; and Capt Touchstone's company of Infantry in the same Battalion of which I only know that they are nearly all Union men. Such is the condition of the militia of Barnwell so far as I have been able to learn it. The whole of the men are generally able bodied, more than two thirds staunch Whigs and to the honor of the District I am happy to state that should the militia be called out a considerable portion of the Union men will cheerfully march under the banners of the State.

In regard to the Volunteer's [movement] for this Crisis I cannot now report as fully as I shall be able to do in a few weeks. A company has been formed at this place, have chosen Officers and appointed a day to be inspected. A rifle company has been formed near Cannons Bridge on Edisto

chosen officers and appointed a day to be inspected. A Company of mounted riflemen has been formed near Matthew's Bluff, will choose officers on the 10th inst. and have appointed a day to be inspected. Cap Holdens Company will volunteer. Capt Johnsons will do the same and probably Capt Tindrells. Of the regular beat companies a number, though I cannot now say how many, will volunteer with their officers. I have requested the beat Captains wherever I have thought they would Volunteer to call their Companies together and ascertain their wishes and report to me between the 20 inst and the 1 of February. I shall myself attend several of their musters. A company is also forming which if it succeeds I shall take the liberty of presenting to your particular attention. It is to be called the Volunteer veterans and to embrace all the revolutionary remains of the district; No one will be admitted who is under Fifty years of age. At the head of this project are Old Col. Tarlton Brown, Genl Walker and Capt Trotti.

If it were not for the Troop and rifle companies I think I could promise to have organized for you by the middle of February an entire Regiment in this District. Excluding them we shall certainly have a Battalion well filled. I should be glad to know from you in what capacity you wish the rifle Corps to act, whether as infantry of the Battalion or as detached Corps, and particularly the mounted Riflemen. On this point please instruct me as early as possible as I have fixed on Saturday the 19th to inspect a rifle Corps and Monday the 21 to inspect the mounted riflemen. In this emergency, unless otherwise instructed, I shall not be rigid as to the uniform and equipments of the Volunteer Corps as it will be impossible for every man to be completely appointed on so short a notice. It is with this understanding that appointments for inspection have been made.

I have pursued your instructions in relation to the minute men and have in every case instructed the Leader of a squad to report to me by the 20 inst. I have every expectation that a company of one hundred men can be raised by that time, of which I will give due notice in my report to the Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.

According to your directions I have informed the Colonels of the District that they can obtain the "Abstract of Manœuvres" upon application. If I had a dozen copies myself I could make an excellent use of them immediately. Major Dunbar, Commander of the Upper Squadron of Col Hoggs regiment, has requested me to obtain for him twelve copies of "Hoyt's Cavalry." I promised him that they should be here next week and must beg you to direct them to be forwarded to "Major Francis F. Dunbar, Barnwell C. H." by the Stage. I have been applied to for several commissions and as I shall want a number myself I must also beg you to have forwarded to me at this place to the care of the Postmaster about three dozen or more if they can be spared.

If you have any instructions for me, they will reach me until the 17th at Augusta, on the 18th here and after that at Augusta again, and I have to request you, as I have occasionally to lay aside the military part of my

vocation and give the people my opinions of the political aspect of affairs, to be kind enough to drop me such hints as may enable me as far as possible to act in all things in harmony with your views.

With great respect

I am your Excellency's

Ob^t Servant

JAMES H. HAMMOND.

To His Excellency

Robert Y. Hayne

P. S. There is not a piece of mounted Ordnance in the District. There is said to be a old Cannon near the levels which was probably left there in the Revolution. I shall have it examined and tried and if worth mounting I will have it brought here.

XIX. ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO FRANCIS W. PICKENS.

CHARLESTON Jan. 11th 1833.

Sir

Some doubts having arisen as to the regulation of the *Mounted Minute Men*, I have to inform you that they will be considered as Volunteer Corps, and that they will be allowed to choose their own officers either when formed or when called into the field as may be preferred. They are to be *independent companies* divided into Squads or Divisions of ten, each squad having its leader, and arrangements must be made to ensure prompt Notice to each Member of the Corps in the event of a call for their services when they must instantly repair to the place appointed.

Respectfully Yours

ROB. Y. HAYNE

Col. Pickens.

P. S.

I have just rec^d your letter of the 9th. The Sabres and Pistols shall be granted you, but I can spare no more for the present. How shall they be sent? As to a Depot at Hamburg, on a small scale I should not object to it. Enquire on what terms it can be effected. Can you store powder and Arms and to what extent, and will it be *safe* from a sudden invasion? Can't Shultz mount a piece or two of Cannon at Hamburg? We have nothing very new here. We have had an Express from W.¹ but for what purpose no one out of the secret can conjecture. As to Volunteers from other States, I do not feel authorized to enroll them, but you may say if Carolina is compelled to fight in self defence, her brethren from other States would be hailed with delight.

In haste yrs truly

ROB. Y. HAYNE.

¹Washington. The relations of the federal administration with the Union party in South Carolina are shown in Dr. Stillé's article on Joel R. Poinsett in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. XII.

P. S.

Could you not *in time* make an arrangement with Col. Wardlaw *for keeping* a part of the 200 kegs of Powder which have been forwarded to J. P. and B. Benson at Hamburg at that place?

XX. JAMES H. HAMMOND TO ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

SILVER BLUFF 14th January 1833

Sir.

Your Orders in explanation of your Orders to recruit a Company of Mounted Minute Men reached me to-day. I am one of those who misapprehended your former orders and all of my subscription papers have been given out with erroneous explanations of your views. I thought, as it would be almost impossible to collect a body of men so scattered over the district, at the distance of thirty, forty, and even sixty miles apart, unless under the urgent circumstances of a call for immediate action, that you merely intended they should remain in their unorganized state until that call was made. I thought too that as you stated they were to be kept in the field only until the militia could come up, your object was to have in them nothing more than an advanced guard composed of the *élite* of the Volunteers who would fall back into their places as soon as their respective companies arrived; and I was further confirmed in this view by the reflection that you scarcely intended to establish on a permanent footing mounted corps of ununiformed men, promiscuously armed and without training. In giving out subscription papers therefore I stated that a person might be a minute man and also a member of a Volunteer Corps. The effort to form a Company of minute men upon any other system than this in so large a District as Barnwell will be attended with great difficulty; but I will endeavour to do it, though it will occasion much loss of time and in some places where the people are divided, prevent the formation of Volunteer companies. If it be not too inconsistent with your general plan I should be glad to be allowed to pursue the course I have marked out: as best suited to this District. I take the liberty of making this suggestion to your Excellency and in the mean time shall proceed to obey your Orders unless otherwise instructed at Barnwell where any communication will reach me on the 18th.

I have received your Orders to establish depots for provision. I have written to Col. Pickens to know his arrangements that I might make mine accordingly. Without waiting on him longer than I remain at home I shall while in the lower part of the district make one depot and soon after another above, of which you shall be duly advised. Your other instructions will be promptly obeyed.

With great respect

I am, your Excellency's

most Obedient Servant

JAMES H. HAMMOND

XXI. WM. E. HAYNE TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON Jan^y 14. 1833COL^o JAMES H. HAMMOND,*Dear Sir*

By the order of the Governor I have sent by the Stage, a Package addressed to yourself, to the care of Angus Patterson Esquire, Barnwell Court House, containing twelve Copies of the "Abstract of Military Tactics." Hoyt's Cavalry Tactics have already been furnished to Major Dunbar.

Very Respectfully

Your mo. ob. Serv^t

WM. ED. HAYNE

Aso^t. Adj. and Insp^r. Gen^l.

XXII. ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON 18th Jan^y 1833.*Sir.*

My last letter on the subject of Minute men was induced by information that in some of the districts they had been so organized as to take *all the officers* and most of the efficient men of certain *Volunteer corps*, so as to leave the latter without the moral or physical force necessary to their efficiency. My scheme was in the main that which you have indicated,—the preparation of a select corps, composed of the elite of the several Districts who would on an emergency be thrown instantly on any given point,—the use to be made of them to depend upon circumstances. I was aware that such troops would not be the most efficient for long continued service, and therefore designed that the *number should be limited*, say to about 100 in each District, say 2800 in the whole State, which in an emergency would give us from 2000 to 2500 men, that could be instantly thrown upon a given point. I do not think this number of such troops would be too great. But it is upon the regularly organized volunteer corps that we would have to rely in any protracted warfare, and the object of my last letter was to impress upon you that these were not to be suffered to *be broken up*. The arrangements in the different districts, however, must be made in some degree to bend to local circumstances, and therefore you will consider yourself at liberty to pursue a sound discretion in this matter, provided only you secure not only the prompt attendance of 100 Minute men from Barnwell Dist. whenever called for, but take care that the efficiency of the other Volunteer Companies be not impaired. What I should desire would be as far as may be practicable to have 100 minute men composed of Gentlemen who keep horses, who would not in general probably be members of other Volunteer Infantry or Rifle Corps. As to Cavalry, they are or ought to be minute men from the nature of their employment. All the rest of the Militia I should be glad to see organized into Volunteer Corps. Should I want *instantly* 1000

men here, I would call on the Minute men,—if I wanted them *two weeks hence*, I should look principally to the other Volunteer Corps. I trust I have now explained my views, and must leave to your discretion the execution of them as far as may be expedient and practicable in your District. I shall be glad to have full Reports as soon as your organization is effected.

In haste respectfully yours,

ROB. Y. HAYNE.

Col. J. H. Hammond.

XXIII. JAMES H. HAMMOND TO ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

SILVER BLUFF 23rd January 1833.

Dear Sir.

On my return yesterday from an excursion through the lower part of the District I rec^d your last letter and some copies of your proclamation which I have distributed. I intended to write to you that it was impossible to make up my company of minute men without taking them from the Volunteer Corps. I am glad you have permitted me to adopt that plan ; In anticipation of your objection to it I had from the first ordered that no Captain or 1st Lieu^t of a volunteer Company should join the minute men. I am sorry to say that I have not succeeded so well as I expected in that Corps. My first appointment of leaders have given me but about fifty men and a third of them are troopers. I hope to do better and *will* have them all by the time they will be required. The people of Barnwell are generally very poor, and though staunch yeomanry, not generally so public spirited I find as some of our neighbours. If drafted there is not a nullifier in the district and few Union men who would not cheerfully take up arms ; and they would make soldiers that might be depended on ; but as to volunteering they do not understand it and are not inclined to put themselves to unnecessary trouble. The fact is that there are not intelligent men enough sprinkled about to stir them up, and that they have gone right heretofore I attribute to mere instinct. Whenever they can be collected together I have never failed to produce some ardour among them, but in so large a district, so sparsely populated it is difficult to get them together, and they know so little of the matter that one exhortation does not last long. I mention these things to show you why there has not been as spontaneous a burst of patriotism here as elsewhere. We shall however form a Regim^t. Major Collins Battalion (a new and zealous Officer) will parade in a week or two and will I think unanimously volunteer. Two of the beats have already been absorbed by Volunteer Corps and the Cavalry. Besides this Battalion, three other Companies have been formed and two or three more will be. I have made it a point in this district to address the Union men whenever I find them and explain to them the true character of the *present question*. It opens the eyes of many who appear never to have had any light before on the subject. Few papers are taken and there have been few public discussions here.

In relation to the Depots, I have selected White Ponds for one and Buford's Bridge for another. But I take the liberty of suggesting to you that it would be better to have a depot near the rail road and take the troops down on it. If you think so, I will make a depot there instead of the one I contemplate at Buford's Bridge. I think I shall meet no difficulty in making the Conditional Contracts, provided I promise to give a week or ten-day's notice. I am expecting an answer from Mr Fatim at White Ponds to whom I have written on the subject. In regard to rifle-factories, there are none in Barnwell, but several in Lexington; but all on a very small scale. Mr. John Quateleburn near Leesville, Lexington, is one of the best rifle manufacturers in the Union, but he will charge \$11 for every barrel and it will cost \$5 more to have it stocked and locked in the [correct manner?] and if I am not mistaken it takes one workman a week to make a barrel—perhaps if pressed he might do it in half the time. The only plan I see for manufacturing rifles, if there is any, will be to establish a factory in Charleston, purchase iron &c and give so much for making each barrel. Twenty or thirty workmen might be collected in the State.

I have not had any regiments ordered out here, because I thought you might review them here this Spring and it would be a great inconvenience to the people to be called out twice. Besides there was no prospect of getting a regiment to Volunteer as a whole.

I have seen Gen. Erwin. He is decided, but not very warm. If you were to write him a letter it would flatter him very much, but he has little influence I think. I send you the Roster you desired as complete as I can make it now. Please note the changes in the address of the Colonels. I have just made a report to the Ass. Adj. and insp. Gen. to which I refer you for a statement of arms &c.

The message of Gen. Jackson reached me this afternoon. I have not had an opportunity to test its effect on public opinion, but presume it will have none. He appears to recede a little from his coercive doctrine, but he is not to be trusted a moment. It is evident that he will do every [thing] in his power. It is reported here that *he has* removed the Custom house to Castle Pinckney. Is not this a sweeping blow at the laws, treaties and Constitution? He is very *modest* in his request of powers from Congress. I wonder he did not recommend them to burn the Constitution and clothe him with supreme Authority at once.

Very respectfully

Your Excellency's

Mo^t Ob. Ser^t.

JAMES H HAMMOND

XXIV. JAMES H. HAMMOND TO WM. E. HAYNE.

SILVER BLUFF 23^d January 1833

Sir.

In Conformity with the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief I have the honor to report to you the state of military Organization in

Barnwell District so far as it has progressed under the General Orders of the 25 of December last.

On Friday last I inspected at Barnwell Court House Capt^t Schmidts company of Jefferson Volunteers. I inclose you a list of the names of the Officers and privates. You will perceive that there are forty eight of the latter and the non commissioned Officers who will require muskets, and I must request you to forward them to me by the rail road to the care of C. Dewitt Esq. near Edisto river. As there will probably be many names yet added to the list, if you forward any it would be as well to send seventy five stand. They will be wanted any how. This Company will have a fine uniform and is intended to be permanent. On Saturday I attended a muster of Cap^t M^cTyiere's rifle corps at Ford's Meadow on little Salt Catcher. Owing to accidental circumstances, the Company were not all warned and did not turn out in numbers sufficient to undergo inspection. There will be about sixty privates in this Corps and if you have arms to furnish I beg you to forward that many rifles to me at the same place as I shall inspect and Commission them in a few days. This Company will be well uniformed and permanent also. On Monday I inspected Cap^t Laffittes company of Riflemen near M^cCoy's bluff on Savannah River. I send you a list of their names and request you to forward arms for them, say sixty stand, to Matthew's Bluff, care of S. R. Cannon Esq. This company will be handsomely uniformed and probably permanent. There are other Volunteer Corps forming in the District of which I shall give you notice so soon as I inspect and commission them. I send you a list of Capt Johnson's Troop who Volunteered at their last muster. Col. Hogg was present and inspected them and will furnish you all necessary information respecting them.

Cap^t. Tindrells company of Riflemen mustered last Saturday and he was ordered to forward to me a full report of the state of their arms &c. wh. I am now expecting to receive. Cap^t Holden's Company also mustered at Buford's Bridge on Saturday. Of those present only four muskets were found out of repair. I think I shall be able to have them repaired here. The Company did not volunteer as a whole, but every individual signed a list which will be filled up in a few days. I ordered the muskets of the Old Company, sixty in number, to be collected at Buford's Bridge and will arm the new company with them. They are however of a very inferior quality. Of the General State of the arms in Barnwell I can inform you in few words. Besides the sixty muskets alluded to, Cap^t. Touchstone's Company have sixty more which I have not yet inspected and Cap^t Tindrell's sixty rifles of very inferior quality. These comprise all the public arms. Of the private I can only say, that as in every other part of the state, there is scarcely a man in Barnwell district who has not a rifle or Shotgun. The latter is in most common use here and little to be depended on in regular warfare. I have promised arms to all the Volunteers as soon as they can be procured and beg you will inform me as early as possible whether they can be obtained or not by letter to Barnwell C. H. I rec^d twelve copies of the "Abstract &c,"

but no commissions of which I am very much in want. Please send a copy of the bond which I must require upon delivery of the arms.

Very Respectfully

Your Ob^t Serv^t

JAMES H. HAMMOND

Col. W. E. Hayne

Ass. Adj. and insp. Gen.

XXV. WM. E. HAYNE TO JAMES H. HAMMOND.

ADJ. AND INSP. GENERAL'S OFFICE

CHARLESTON JAN. 28th 1833.

Sir

I herewith inclose you Twenty blank Commissions. Arms will be forwarded as soon as arrangements can be made for that purpose. Bonds required upon the delivery of Arms are now in press and you will be furnished with a supply as soon as printed.

Very Respectfully

Your ob. Serv^t

WM : ED : HAYNE

Ass^t Adj. and Insp. General.

Colonel James H. Hammond.

XXVI. ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO FRANCIS W. PICKENS.

CHARLESTON 31st Jan^r '33

Dear Sir,

Your *truly gratifying Report* has been rec^d. If you think you can keep them safely you may remove 300 muskets from the Abbeville arsenal to Edgefield C. H. also 3000 lbs. Lead. You may also have 100 kegs of Powder, which you may draw from the same place unless an advantageous purchase of that quantity can be made through some merchant in Hamburgh from Augusta. If 100 kegs of 25 lbs. each can be had at from \$5. to \$6, you may purchase that amount—if not draw them from Abbeville. I do not know that we can spare you a 9 Pounder for Hamburgh, but a piece of some sort can be furnished, and will be if you require it, and think it would be useful. As to the Armory, if a few workmen can be employed on reasonable terms to clean and repair arms, you may employ them, but you had better engage them by the month, and let me know the expense. The necessary repairs must be made, and a suitable person be employed to take charge of the Arms, but let our expenses be as small as possible. Any number of men who may meet at the Court House for drill may be furnished with arms, to be returned to the Arsenal when the drill is over. As to calling in Arms I do not *for the present* wish to do more than to get possession of those not in use, or which may need repair. *Private arms* we have nothing to do with, unless their owners choose to give them to us. I will enquire about the Standards for you, and will send you some copies of Hoyt as soon as I have an opportunity. If you know of any

person coming to town send him to me. As to funds,—orders may either be drawn on the Quarter Master General here, or if you prefer it, I will send you any amount you may require in an order on the Agent at Hamburg, for which you may render an account hereafter. On this point let me know your wishes. May it not be worthy of enquiry whether Arms of some sort could not be picked up in Augusta. Get some Merchant to enquire. I annex the orders you require.

In haste y^rs truly

ROB. Y. HAYNE.

P. S. There is no objection at all to your taking com^d of the Reg^t. As to the encampment, it must not be *ordered*, and if by gen^l consent I think it had better not exceed one or two companies at a time.

(*To be continued.*)

3. *A Ministerial Crisis in France, 1876.*

IN 1873 France was passing through one of the most redoubtable crises of her domestic history. Thiers had succeeded in freeing French territory from the last consequences of the Prussian invasion and was enjoying the country's approbation when the Monarchist majority of the Assembly decided to reward his services by depriving him of the Presidency of the Republic. The unpopularity thus rashly incurred by the Monarchists was destined irretrievably to ruin their hopes.

On May 24, the Royalists managed to secure the election of Marshal de MacMahon as President of the Republic, and the Duc de Broglie became prime minister.

In November 1873 the National Assembly was called upon to discuss a bill, historically known as the "Septennial Bill," and designed to prolong Marshal de MacMahon's tenure of power for a period of seven years. During the debates M. Jules Simon spoke with a thrilling and fiery eloquence that surpassed all his previous oratory. He vehemently protested against conferring such powers on a man who personified no tradition and whose past could boast of no special glory, who had neither the prestige of the Comte de Chambord and the Comte de Paris, both of royal race, nor the genius of Napoleon. In spite of this impassioned protest, the prolongation of the Marshal's tenure of power was voted as a consequence of the failure of the Monarchist plans of amalgamation; and, after the elections of 1876, which were a definitive success for the Republican party, Marshal de MacMahon formed a cabinet with M. Dufaure as prime minister.

Nine months later, namely in December 1876, M. Dufaure's